643 766 701 ation of his successor. All the regiments of the army are summoned, together with groups of warriors delegated by foreign clans. The mourning ceremonies are first performed. (See later on). Then, at the end of the afternoon, says Mankhelu, the great counsellors send a herald to the circle of warriors. He shouts: "Khaula!" viz., "keep silent!" The new chief comes out of the hut and stands alone in the midst of the circle. "Do you see him," says the herald... "It is the chief!" — "Who is he?" ask the warriors, who wish to know his new name. — "It is Muhlaba Dabuka," he answered, when the present Nkuna chief was proclaimed. Formerly his name was Shikuna. Now he adopted this new name, borrowed from one of the Ngoni chiefs of Bilen. "He who wants to fight, can fight," he adds. This is an invitation to those who wish to protest against the coronation to state the fact plainly. When Muhlaba was proclaimed, the Masakomo family left the capital in anger, as they thought they were deprived of their right. (See later on.) Such an occurrence is not rare owing to the irregularities which so frequently take place in the succession.

If the chief is still a child he is carried on a shield, or put on the roof of a hut, so that everybody may see him.

In the Ronga clans the ceremony is conducted as follows. Let me describe it with all the details supplied by Tobane.

643 609 648 First of all sacrifices are made to the gods to ask that this ceremony may pass off quietly, happily, without quarrelling, and then the date is fixed. Invitations are sent to the surrounding little kingdoms, or at least to all those who are on friendly relations with the tribe. For instance, supposing the installation to be that of the chief of Mpfumo, invitations would be sent to Maputju, Tembe, Matjolo, Nondwane, Ñwamba and Shirinda. Manyisa and Ntimane are regarded as "being of a different mind" (moya muñwana), and "good will only reaches as far as the river Nkomati," to give a literal translation of the expression used by my informant; this means that relations with the more distant countries are hardly those of even ordinary civility. The warriors of the invited tribes assemble, in greater or smaller numbers; sometimes only a few delegates attend, but they do not proceed at once to the capital. Etiquette requires that each one should

643 609 first go to the Mpfumo Counsellor, who now acts as an Agent General for his own tribe ; they are well received by him and fed while waiting for the day of the coronation.

643 701 When it is known that all the foreign military contingents have arrived,[1] then the Mpfumo army is also assembled and all together march to the capital. The royal family council, composed of uncles and the older relatives of the new chief, meets in a separate hut. The presiding member opens the proceedings as follows : "Si hi humeliliki : si hi humililiki, hi fanela ku beka hosi kutani! (See what has happened! This having happened to us we must install a new chief!)" The rest approve and reply according to etiquette. On an immense open space, all the warriors form a circle (biya mukhumbi). Battalion after battalion 643 takes up its position within this living enclosure. An opening is 714 left in this otherwise perfect circle, and through it enters the bodyguard, composed of young men of the same age as the new chief, with the chief himself hidden in their midst, wearing his full military uniform and accoutrements : ostrich feathers on his head, strands of hair from cow's tails on his biceps and the calves of his legs, etc.

643 A specially appointed functionary, the bearer of the chiefs 701 (mutlakuli wa tihosi), penetrates into the middle of the bodyguard and raises the young chief on his shoulders in the presence of the assembled armies. The great counsellors, the secondary chiefs, and all the young men of the royal family, then accompany the bearer of the king and with him march round the inner side of the circle of warriors, shouting as they go :

Hosi hi leyi ! Dlayan ! Dlayan !
Behold the chief ! Kill him ! Kill him !
A ku na yimbeni !
There is no other than he !
Hi tiba yoleyi.
We recognise none other.
Dlayan ! Lwa nga ni yimpi !
Kill him ! if there be any here who can raise an army (to oppose him).

To these shouts of defiance the several battalions reply consecutively as the procession passes them : "Bayete! Bayete! Ndjao!" These words form the royal salute, to which all the independent chiefs are entitled (1).

1 [for the coronation of a chief --Analyst]

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

643 533 539 to the chief, to which he will reply by executing the dance which follows. To this exclamation of the soloist the warriors respond by striking their shields with their assagais, producing a hard sharp sound, which the chant tries to render by the syllable "Ji! Ji!" Then they stamp their feet, saying: "Vu! Vu!" and this enigmatic sentence follows: "Yes, we will cross the great river, the river of the chief." What is this river? Can it be that which separates the Mpfumo country from Khosen, namely the Nkomati? Or the Mitembe, marking the frontier between the Northern and the Southern Ba-Ronga? Or do not these mysterious words rather refer to the river of death, which the entire host should cross without hesitation if called to do so by their chief? Whatever the exact meaning may be, this chant must be an assurance of loyalty on the part of the warriors to their king and probably also an appeal to his valour.

643 535 701 The chant ended, no one is allowed to leave the ranks. The chief alone rushes into the enclosure; every warrior holds his shield in his hand and strikes it with hard sharp blows (ku ba ngomana); on hearing these, the chief begins to *gila* in his turn. He executes the war-dance brandishing his assagai, as if killing invisible enemies. The crowd encourages him, inciting him to still further efforts, crying: "Silo! Silo! Silo! Beast of the fields! Lion!" Volleys are fired. The chief redoubles his exertions, gesticulating furiously, perspires profusely, is well nigh exhausted and finally stops! The whole army sits on the ground and the young king is supplied with a jug of beer to quench his thirst.

When the ceremony has lasted long enough, and the warriors have enjoyed at their ease the spectacle of their chief's prowess, the Commander-in-chief dismisses the battalions, one after the other. The circle (mukhumbi) breaks up and all rush to the residence of their respective counsellors, singing as they go the praises of the particular army-corps to which they belong. The members of the royal family return to the capital, where they remain. A counsellor presents each group or regiment with the ox which has been allotted to it; this is accepted with shouts of "bayete." The men cut up the animal, divide the meat and eat it in their respective quarters.

262 782 796 273 formula : "May this bukanyi do no harm! May we not slay each other under its influence. May it cause no serious quarrels." They are afraid that, during the general intoxication which will shortly prevail, quarrels will arise, some of which may terminate fatally. During the whole month of bukanye drinking, all business is at a standstill, just as with us all bankruptcy proceedings and all prosecutions for debt are held in abeyance for two weeks during the New Year holidays!

The gods having luma first, the bones are consulted. Should the throw be propitious, the chief will luma next ; thus the opening ceremony of the feast is concluded.

b) The luma of the army.

796 273 The young people are now assembled to clean up the public square and all the roads to the ball room must be prepared! The women of the capital start out early in the morning, beating the *paibubutwana*, that is to say sounding the call that is produced by striking the lips (bu-bu-bu-bu), and they go all over the country gathering the golden fruit ; this is piled up in an enormous heap on the public square and the brew is proceeded with in the following manner. The makanye are pierced (tshunya) with a pointed wooden splinter ; the stone falls covered with a transparent white pulp into the jar ; into this jar is also squeezed out with the fingers all the juice which remains in the pulp adhering to the skin ; this is continued until the jar is half full, when the stones are taken out, and on the following day the pressing is resumed until the jar is full. On the third day the beer has sufficiently fermented to be pungent and agreeable to the taste and is ready for consumption. Empty barrels are easily procurable in the environs of Lourenço Marques. The women of the capital brew ten or fifteen huge casks of the precious liquor! This accomplished, the second ceremony begins.

796 273 789 701 A convocation of the entire male portion of the tribe is held in the capital, but the first to respond to the call must be the men, the warriors of the army, who come in full array, with all their ornaments, and carrying their small play shields. One cask of

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909) 1927 Thonga

796
273
789
701
761

beer is selected, into which is thrown the black powder, the great medicine of the land, called in this case *bubinga bya miluru*, the powder of the miluru. The muru, plur. miluru, is the mysterious spiritual influence which a man or a beast killed by the assagais can exert on the slayer, making him lose his head and commit acts of folly, or, at least, have red eyes (shenga mahlo). We shall again meet with this curious conception when

Bukanye drinking tea: Antioka. (Portuguese East Africa.) *Phot. A. Junod.*

studying the rites of the army and of hunting. All those who are proudly conscious of having killed a man in war must first drink the new beer which has been medicated to keep them from killing any of their compatriots during the ensuing weeks of the bukanye. They approach one after the other, the chief also, if he be a man-slayer. Each of them receives a small calabash, (*nsuhelo*, p. 50) full of the fermented liquid. He jumps and runs in the direction of the entrance, drinks a mouthful, spits it out with *tso* and says: "Father and mother! May I live! May I hold the calabash! Even to morrow! For ever!" People laugh. He is very happy! Others sing and dance the war dance:

796 273 789 701 "We drink the bukanye anew! Who would have thought that we should drink again from this cup", viz., "that we should have escaped all the dangers of war" (Hi nwa nkanyi lomu'mpsa! Afa hi nga hlayi epsaku hi ta nwa ntcheko lo kambe).

After this, the casks are distributed to the other warriors, who drink to their hearts' content. The addition of the black powder is not absolutely necessary in their case. They can luma without it. Then the war circle is formed and the principal counsellors harangue the assembled warriors, giving them the following advice: "Drink in peace (ha hombe). Let no one spoil this bukanye by transfixing his brother with his assagai. Go and drink in your villages. Do not pick quarrels with strangers passing through the country, etc." The gathering then disperses.

c) The luma in the village.

796 273 786 The preparatory luma is accomplished. The *yila* has been removed. Now comes the third act: the drinking in the villages. The women who remained at home while the men-slayers went to luma at the bidding of the chief, have gathered large quantities of makanye. The tree is to be found extensively all over the country, as no female plant is ever cut down; there is one or more in every field, and every one possesses such a tree, as every one owns a field; when all the trees in the gardens have been stripped of fruit, the women pass to the trees growing in the bush far from the villages.

But here also everything must be done in right order of precedence; the petty chief of such a district must commence to luma in the presence of his subjects, and not until after he has done so can the people drink freely in the villages. From this moment, however, there is no further restriction. Drinking continues day and night, night and day! When the supply is finished in one village, they go to the next. These feasts are the saturnalia, the bacchanalia, the carnival of the tribe! During these weeks some individuals are in a continuous state of semi-intoxication. Orgies on all sides, songs and dances! The younger men run along the paths, with a more or less unsteady

has been pulled up and the sand nicely smoothed down, so that any traces of a thief would easily be seen. He will possibly be recognised at once by the trackers, owing to some peculiarity in the marks on the sand, the foot-print of each individual being more or less known ; clever detectives can even ascertain the height and gait of a man from the length of his stride! If there are no peculiar marks in the foot-prints, the trackers will follow them and reach the village where the thief lives. They will perhaps take him by surprise in his hut. If the matter cannot be settled by the headman of the village and has to be brought before the chief, the guilty party will be fined as much as two, three or even five pounds sterling (Tobane) (1).

When detectives have been unable to trace a thief, they assume a philosophical attitude and say : "Only wait. A man who has stolen will steal again, and you will catch him another time!"

Revolt against the decisions of the chief's hubo is very rare. Should any person take the part of a condemned man and encourage him to oppose the decision of the Court, he will be beaten with a shambock on the square of the capital. "U onhi hubo," "he has spoilt the Court!" Moreover he may have to pay a fine of £ 2. (Mankhelu.)

Answer to some of Professor Frazer's questions on Government. There are no separate chiefs for war and peace. But in time of war the great induna, who is the Commander-in-chief of the army, directs all military operations. — The chief is never required to marry his own sister or daughter. The only similar case of which I have heard, is that of a hunter who must have sexual relations with his daughter before going on a hunting trip (Part IV).

— The king's mother does not hold any special office.—

The chief does not keep any portion of his deceased predecessor excepting the nails and hair used for the mhamba (See page 386 and part VI.)

(1) The following interesting couplet in two sentences aptly describes the thief : Shikhungwa rondjelotsho ? — The crown on the hat nicely rounded ? Mangala a puka ritiho... — The hawk burns his claws...
The chief is like a crown on the top of a hat. He is a lazy person, he mismanages and will not work. Evil will befall him, as with a hawk who tries to snatch the meat that is roasting and burns his claws!

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

messenger (shigidjimi) ran from village to village, blowing this instrument ; when he was tired he passed it on to some other good runner, who carried the summons further afield ; he ran and ran until he was exhausted, when he handed the trumpet to a third, and so on until the whole country had been covered.

At the sound of the well-known call of the shipalapala, the warriors shout : "A hi hlomen!" — "to arms!" They at once put on their war costumes and repair to the capital.

In Nondwane all the sub-chiefs possessed their shipalapala, and each of them summoned his own people. There, the shipalapala mostly sounded to call for dances and for feasts. When the army was mobilised merely to discuss matters quietly, messengers ran through the country shouting : "Mayivonule!" — "take the shields!"..., to which the warriors answered : "A hi hlomen!" — "to arms!" The messenger had to go quickly. "He did not lose time in grinding tobacco ;" he only indicated the time when the army was expected in the capital.

Should matters be more serious, should a hostile yimpi have invaded the territory, every one can give the alarm (tlhabela mukhosi), shouting : "Yi ngeeneeeeeee!" "It has entered!" (viz., the hostile army has invaded our territory). All the women flee away and the men run to the capital.

D. THE MUKHUMBI, THE CIRCLE OF WARRIORS.

Decked out like wild animals, the warriors hasten with all speed to the chief's village, where the regiments muster. The army (1) is divided into a certain number of *battalions*, *mabotshu*, or *meboko*, all men of about the same age forming a *botshu*. The *botshu* itself is made up of several *companies*, *mitlawa* or *mabandla*, and may therefore vary very much in numbers.

(1) Yimpi (pl. tiyimpi) in Thonga corresponds to impi in Zulu.

701 726 In the army of Matjolo there were nine battalions, commencing with that composed of youths from sixteen to twenty years old, up to that of "crown men" (makehla) and the grey beards who where still capable of handling an assagai ; for every able-bodied man is a soldier and makes it a point of honour to join the army when it is mobilised. In the Zihlahla clan, the battalions of young men were called *Megajlela* and also *Ndumakazulu*, "the one who is celebrated as far as Zululand," surname of the chief Ñwamantibyane. After them came the *Nyonibovu*, *Giva*, *Malwabo*, *Djanungwana*.

Mankhelu, the Commander of the Nkuna yimpi, gave me the names of his battalions and the explanation of them. The old men formed the regiment called *Mamphondo*, those of the horns. Some of them used to tie a horn on their foreheads ; they imitated the rhinoceros or the buffalo. The following regiment was the *Mamphisi* (timhisi), the hyenas ; then the *Machoni*, the sea birds, a kind of duck, very swift ; then the *Timbuluane*, a sort of lynx, the *Mafakubi*, representing the ndakazi antelope and, lastly, the most numerous regiment, the *Dhlanazo*, "those who eat with others (dya na bu)." Each regiment has, as we shall see, its own war-cry, in which it imitates the animal whose name it bears.

701 726 202 When all have reached the capital the first procedure is the "formation of the circle," in Thonga *biya mukhumbi*, to fence the circle or *aka mukhumbi*, to build the circle. This is accomplished in the Zihlahla army by a special summons which I might call "the order to fall in." Heralds scatter in all directions, enter the huts, approach the groups encamped around the capital, and shout in a high and monotonous key the following Zulu words. It will be noticed that the formula given is that which was made use of by the heralds in the Mpfumo clan during the war of 1894.

Inwana ! Oyo adjalo, Muvulu, (1)
Be nga n'thandi ba ka Nkupane,
Unte'ka Sihlahla, enkulu ni ka Hamule,
Malebola ge dyuse e bulandla ka Mbokwane.

(1) Muvulu, the Zulu surname for Ñwamantibyane.

I: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

701
726
202

Listen! This is what Nwamantibyane says,
He whom the people of Nkupane do not love, (1)
The son of the Great Forest (Sihlahla) of Hamule, (2)
He who took a wife and used the sword in the country of his parents-in-law, in Mbukwane's country.

Gwalagwala a liburu,
Ilihlengo ago kubekeka,
Umpathi we sibamo,
U za ku debula Mangole ni Maputukizi.

The royal bird with red plumage (3),
Magnificent to contemplate,
He who holds in his hand a gun
With which he will fire on the Angolese and the Portuguese.

Nduna kati, lo wa khiti,
Mo nga ngesilwana,
U ti ka: a yi fumule!

He whose fame spreads afar, our chief,
Who is as a wild beast,
It is he who says: "To arms!".

701
726

This final exclamation, prolonged and finishing abruptly on the last syllable, carries a long distance; all the warriors jump to their feet and, brandishing their assagais and shields, run to the chief's village, where the circle is to be formed. Each

[614]

(1) The people of Nkupane are one of the younger branches of the royal family of Mpfumo. They lived close to Lourenço Marques, on the other slope of the hill, to the West of the town. They would have liked undoubtedly, in common with many others, to assert their independence by throwing off the yoke of the elder branch, and even attempted to do so when Mahombole tried, in 1867 or in 1869, to overthrow Zihlahla. But the elder branch, whose chiefs were energetic men, succeeded in maintaining its authority over the whole clan. The fact that the people of Nkupane "do not love" Nwamantibyane redounds rather to the credit of the latter.

(2) Nwamantibyane's father was Zihlahla, his grandfather was Hamule. Sihlahla, or Zihlahla, in Zulu means forest, hence the herald's play on the word. The reign of Zihlahla, which we may place at from 1867 to 1883, was very troubled, at least during its first few years. The young chief, on his return from Natal, after the death of his father Hamule, married Mbilwana, a princess of the royal family of Mabota. During the bloody wars then raging, Zihlahla was angry with Mabota (whose chief was Mbukwane), for playing him false, and, one fine day, he made a raid into the country of his parents-in-law, killing many people. To have thus treated his "bakofwana," who are ordinarily held in such great respect, (see Part II) was a proof of valour which is remembered to this day, more than fifty years after the event. It must be said that, after this exploit, Zihlahla left his residence near the town and took refuge in the Nwambe territory; the Whites with whom he was fighting put in his place a certain Nwayeye whose name we shall find in a war song to which we shall have occasion to refer later on.

(3) The nkulenkulu is a bird which is shot in the forest on the borders of the Nkomati; its feathers are red, and only chiefs are allowed to wear them.

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

regiment, with its counsellors at its head, is called in turn by the organisers of the army; (at Zihlahla they were Mahagane, the chief's uncle, and Mpompi), and the several companies of the regiments form ranks one behind the other. I have already described this imposing circle, when treating of the coronation of the chief. Every warrior can take in at a glance the entire assemblage. Seen from the interior, it is an unbroken circle of shields, resting perpendicularly on the ground, and all touching; behind, a crowd of men, the greater the number, the deeper the ranks, a forest of feathers waving above their heads.

The mukhumbi is not however a perfect circle. It is rather like a *horse shoe*, as there remains an *opening* (nyangwa or sangwa), which gives access into it. On either side of this *door* the regiment of the young men takes up its position; the Dhlanazo in the Nkuna mukhumbi and the Ndumakazulu in that of Zihlahla. At the opposite end, facing the entrance, is the *chest of the army* (shifuba sha yimpi), where the chief stands surrounded by the men of riper age, the strongest of whom act as a body guard. Between the chest and the opening, on both sides, the middle-aged warriors occupy the wings, the elder ones nearer the chest, the younger nearer the entrance. This disposition is highly significant; notice that it is exactly the same as that of the village itself, a large door (mharana); on both sides of the entrance, the huts of the unmarried inhabitants (lao and nhanga); at the back the huts of the headman, and, at the sides, those of his younger brothers. The idea of age and of hierarchy entirely dominates both these social manifestations!

As regards the numerical strength of the mukhumbi, one of my informants who belonged to the Ndumakazulu regiment —young men from 19 to 25 years old—told me that he estimated the war strength of his regiment at about 500 men: the entire Zihlahla circle might be put at 2000 strong.

I have often seen the Nkuna mukhumbi assembled. I had even the opportunity of addressing its warriors during the Sikororo war of 1901. They were between five and six hundred in all. But this clan is very much scattered and many warriors were not present.

726 prescribed rites. I once witnessed it, when the Nkuna army went
701 to Sikororo's country on a kind of punitive expedition. The great ndjuna of the army, the Commander-in-Chief, Mankhelu, his stern face grimmer than ever, holding a hyena's tail in his hand, clad in a white shirt which was very little in keeping with the whole appearance of the mukhumbi, stepped inside the large circle and raised his tail... Then the *Dhlanazo*, the young bloods, ran towards him shouting : "Kwe-kwe-kwe!" Their cry is the same as that of the *Timbulwana* (lynx), their elders, who came next. Mankhelu pointed the tail in a certain direction and these two regiments started. The *Mafakubi* came in their turn, imitating the galop of the antelopes : "tshwi-tshwi-tshwi! gwu gwu... hwu, hwu!... eka-ka-ka-ka..." and finally shouting : "N'ta dya na man" — "with whom shall I eat it ?" — a strange sentence which may be, as previously mentioned, a reminiscence of a totemic period! (See page 366)... The *Matsyoni*, the seabirds, followed shouting "tswe-tswe-tswe ;" the *Mamphondo*, those of the horn, came shouting "tshuba-tshuba-tshuba" and imitating buffalos and rhinoceroses. The *Maphisi* started last, howling wildly like hyenas : "hum-hum-hum..."

726 If the field of battle is far away, if there is a long march to
533 be made, special *marching songs* are sung on the road. The
539 most impressive is the following : a soloist sings in a very high key :

Abafo! — The enemy!

and the whole army answers in a rich and tuneful melody :

Eeeee-a-a! a-a! — Here they are!

All the shields are held straight, ready to meet the foe.
Here are two other marching songs :

Nanga moya wa tshisirwe!
We are the fire which burns the country!
Inkonyana ya ndlopfu inhlazio baen...
The calf of the elephant is exposed on the plain...

This means the chief who is in danger! Let us protect and deliver him.

726 As regards the *order of the march*, the battalions of the young
701 men, stationed on either side of the entrance, go first ; they
643 form the advanced guard, the post of greatest danger. The scouts, tinhlori (Dj.) tinhloli (Ro.), go in front ; each company has its leader to whom these scouts bring reports. It is the duty of the young men to surround the position to be carried and to make the assault. The two sides of the circle then follow, and lastly the chest of the army, forming the rear guard. The chief thus brings up the rear, protected by the battalions of veterans. But generally the chief does not go to battle ; he remains at home.

726 During the campaign, *the whole clan is subjected to many taboos.*
784 Those who remain at home must *keep quiet* (rula). No noise
777 must be heard in the villages. The women must not close the
722 doors of the huts. It is taboo : their husbands might meet with "bitterness" (shibiti). They might lack strength to run away. Fire must be lit in the huts in the evening, in order that the warriors may "have light" where they are. It is taboo to omit this precaution. Work in the fields must be more or less suspended ; women may attend to it in the morning only, before the heat of the day, while the air is still fresh. "Then, if a warrior has stepped on a thorn, the thorn will be cool (titimeta) ; if he has knocked against a stump, the stump will be quiet and not hurt him. (Mboza.)" Old men who remain at home must keep watch, and if they see a messenger coming, they follow him to the chief.
765 Should he bring bad news, they do not inform the women, as it is
726 taboo to mourn over warriors killed in war before the return of the
834 army. A fine is imposed upon those who contravene this law.
777 It is taboo also to have sexual relations as long as the army is on the
784 war-path. This would cause thorns to hurt the warriors and they would be defeated. (Mankhelu.)

722 According to Mankhelu, the mukhumbi may be again formed after arriving in the proximity of the hostile army. The
643 battalions will be sent one after the other by the great ndjuna who
726 will watch the progress of the fight. If he sees his men giving way, he "pours" (tshelela) new companies to help those who are fighting until they rush the position (gwabula) and put the enemy to flight. Then the pursuit begins. The dust flies up